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THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

BY
JACQUES COHEN

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THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

BY
JACQUES COHEN

AUTHOR OF
"PROLEGOMENA TO A COMPLETE EXPOSITION OF THEISM"



LONDON
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THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

PREFACE

As morality dictates and makes us evolve duties to be moral, so social life has been all along growing and has almost fully grown into the civilisation of the West in the only possible way, if not yet perfectly, because Perfection is always the end and could nowhere serve as the means.

In this manner we can excuse faults, and even grave errors, in the nature of Civilisations, knowing that they are easily detected, being the effects of the Tendency which makes the course of every End first through the Possible when everything seems chaotic, then through the Probable, and leads finally to the Road of Certainty, whose natural outgrowth becomes Perfection. Therefore, Error is the necessary corollary of Truth, and faults in any civilisation are not inconsistent with the ultimate

expression and triumph of their particular geniuses. In this treatise I undertake to prove that our civilisation is possessed of a genius which, once expressed as I will express it here, will compel humanity to realise it and evolve its completeness.

All my arguments are pointless if they fail to show how and why this present civilisation and its genius is the Goal of all past civilisations, and the End for which mankind has always striven and still strives, and not in vain, for the Principle will be shown to be one of Mind and intelligent, and not one of Matter, which implies blind fate and mere chance.

To be inspired with confidence for the proper accomplishment of our object here we want a guarantee that the Intelligent is intelligible. For this I must refer the reader to the *Theism Prolegomena*, where it is shown that the ideas about infinites are beneath and lesser than those of finite concepts; in fact, that they are overcome by the truer comprehension of the latter, and specially through the intrinsic capacity of Thought as explained.

In this way Man is started on a new Road where he can, and even must, show himself

capable of arriving at final conclusions which are true in themselves and quite self-consistent.

Now, Capital and Labour are thought of by some people to be antagonistic terms in so far as they affect the Commonwealth. That the two mighty social magnets, Capital and Labour, create antagonism as a result from the effect of a wrong social system under which we live I doubt not, but we must remember that both the capitalist and the labourer are men, and the reconciliation must be sought deeper, and in the nature of Man.

The standpoint, as we shall soon understand, must be Individualism, and not the Communism of Socialists, for all civilisations have grown on purely individualistic lines, and the individualistic principle is further strengthened and proved to be right, as no civilisation ever shone with more brilliancy than the present, which is inspired by Theism and the One God, which has set a deeper impress upon our morality and shows that we are essentially individualists, and at the core, and spiritually so, we all desire to make God of mankind and to establish God in Man.

First unconsciously, and afterwards consci-

ously, humanity aspires after the Theistic Ideal, which gives meaning and full significance to the human spirit and individual immortality to the Soul.

While Thought, which inculcates, combines, and even includes both Soul and Spirit, is itself the outcome of our bodies, and thus as a result from Matter is, so far as Man is concerned, necessarily rooted in his own constitution, although it attracts to itself manifold qualities and characteristics from freer and independent sources than its own body, yet, humanly speaking, it is essentially Man and his own body which give effect to Thought.

In this manner, if Thought as the effect or the Tendency of ourselves and our constitution must be individualised, how much more essentially must Man himself be an individualist? Although Individualism implies, in practice, the highest good and practice for oneself, it is not, for the matter of that, Selfishness. Since, as we see, our individualism to attain to fullness and properly individualise must "enable" Thought and incorporate its laws to rule our conduct. It is sufficient, therefore, to inquire into the nature of Thought, and we shall see

clearly whether or no the highest self-good—a bold, manly life—is compatible with the highest general good; a humanity, as a bulwark of an omniscient, infallible Wisdom.

In my *Prolegomena* I have shown at length that Thought, in itself, is God Himself Who is the Personification of the loftiest, noblest, and most heroic human ideals and attainments.

This is a conclusive proof that the highest self-good is alone compatible with the general good, and that fasting and the unnecessary indulgence in mere sensualism or weak and ugly sentimentalism of fervent prayers is wrong.

Thus we are justly entitled in making Individualism the basis of our social life, the standpoint upon which every man must build his character.

INTRODUCTION

MAN is by nature an optimist. We are always satisfied with our judgments, as we think them to be right and good, otherwise we should never act.

Man looks towards progress and progresses, and even where he does not, he generally thinks that he has progressed. Thus human life begets a meaning and a purpose in the making. So much so is this the case that for the last generation or two we have rightly adopted the Theory of Evolution. But, from the point of view of History, are we to understand that by the Theory of Evolution we mean that a dying civilisation always gives birth to a better, and so it is right that past civilisations should have died? To this we answer, Yes; and the majority will agree with us. Again, are we also to understand that Evolution is a channel into which Perfection must ultimately pass and yield its boon? To this we answer, No; for I hope to be able to prove how and why the

next civilisation, which will be the last and more lasting than all others, could not be the outcome of the natural course of History, but must be of a purely transcendental kind and an original growth, though in many ways it will prove itself to be a development from the preceding civilisations in its contiguity with the common and absolute principle of Individualism, which pervades all civilisations and is essenced to our nature.

Perfection, for example, is never reached, since the moment it is attained it will be also necessarily contained, and thus must be completely subordinated, just as when we aim at reaching a certain end we often not only absolutely and quite reach it, but go beyond it too.

Thus to attain to Perfection one must establish exactly in what the above Perfection consists. Perfection proper, in the sense of a perfect humanity, means simply to replace the reign of Force and Individualism by the Law of Love and Communism. But, just as an End cannot be reached exactly, but must be passed or remain still to be reached, so will Tolstoy never succeed in raising humanity to the sublimity of "Love ye one another," because

humanity must go still higher and climb sublimer heights, though by Individuation.

To a perfect Individualism will not be denied the moral and pure qualities ensuing from the realisation—the impossible realisation—of love everywhere, but to it will also be added material qualities of Art and Wealth.

Nevertheless, the term Evolution is related to almost anything. We speak of the evolution of a certain custom, or some particular art, or of Art in general, and, equally, we apply the same word to define the course of any social, moral, or material development.

Let us now endeavour to elevate the same term to a thought of pure principle. The vital point to be considered is whether Evolution, as a whole, proceeds materialistically or spiritually. Till the eve of the present generation no one could appeal to the Universal Mind as showing whether the process is materialistic or spiritual because, as a matter of Principle, neither was completed or attained to individuality. And, as Man is surely material first and afterwards spiritual, so the saner and the more acute intellects have consistently, and so far justly, advocated Materialism and maintained its dog-

mas. At present, however, the two have reached a reasonable completeness, and the struggle now really begins.

As the *spiritual* is parallel and essential to the *material* for the latter to triumph and that Man may live best his own life, Spirituality, or God, must be saved, individualised, and contained in the material, so Evolution has been all along materialistic but opposed, oppressed and thereby inspired, guided and saved by the Spiritual. The latter could evolve no individuality or identity of its own to manifest over the material, but now the time is come when the material can and must fully individualise, and to do this consistently it must defend and fully manifest the Spiritual with it, include it, and presumably transcend it also ; for Man must ultimately live his own life which is of matter and material, as he is purely of flesh and blood.

The material has always been real, while the Spiritual and God still remain doubtful and never rise above the Probable. Still, as we already know, we can, and even shall, and must shake ourselves free from the bondage of Spirituality and live our own lives happily and securely and independently of God, but in full deference

to Him, e.g. we will always cry, "O God!" and accustom our lips to adore Him, so that Religion shall be respected and must serve as a precautionary measure—a guarantee against our degeneration into the meaner side of Materialism.

Notwithstanding all this, we must know how to live independently of God, because whereas He is purely spiritual, we are purely material. To be happy and comfortable we must live strictly our humane lives. Still, if Man cannot completely sever himself from God and thus be happy he must include Him, and, while living his materialistic life, it will be found to be moral and beautiful.

To make God inclusive in Man we not only break the barriers in Mind, but must also become *ipso facto* more omniscient than Omniscience, for the latter can only be derived from a universal state of things when reaching maturity, so Omniscience can only be proved and yet live but alone through an omniscient thinker.

Not only do we find that anything to be proved must command a conclusion reached a priori and in itself self-evident, but chiefly, seeing that Mind, and Mind alone, must be in-

cluded to give perfection to the most vital growth of the highest universal development, meaning Evolution itself, it follows that nothing can be established and properly stated by the scientific method of deductions nor by the philosophical proclivity in ontological devices and pure inductions and the thousand trickeries of Reason, but by "Conception," pure and simple, necessitating absolute originality.

My aim is that nothing shall be put forth in this book that can be either doubted or questioned. I am not thus using the absolutism method, but wish the reader to know that I cannot and do not mean to be satisfied by merely agreeing with me, as I am certain that my grounds are indisputable, for none can misunderstand me, and I have the whole solution of the matter in hand stated very concisely in the following pages.

I demand the full and immediate application of the conclusions set forth, and which must prove decisive, final, and acceptable in their entirety.

In another work I shall prove the immense responsibility and seriousness of my results, so much so that they must be acquiesced in.

CHAPTER I

THE POSITIVE OF HUMAN SOCIETY

INDIVIDUALISM being necessary as well as suitable, as we have seen, we must so come to look upon it.

By implication, therefore, it is good that every man should evolve his individuality through the characteristics which he acquires through his natural environments and the geographical position of his particular countries, as well as through the relations with other countries in which circumstances and the course of History place him, and in the course of his evolution should create the genius which is destined to become the national peculiarity of his race, that genius which must be constantly increased, strengthened, and developed. In this manner we must regard every section in mankind as a special genius, and all geniuses must be respected.

No wonder, therefore, that in each country classes set themselves one above another. This,

justly enough, is antipathetic to many well-meaning minds, as it creates an undeniable tension and a reserve which does nothing to promote good-will among men.

But if Individualism must admit of class-distinction, and Individualism is good, yet it is influenced by Mind, which is harmonious, harmonising, and perfect. It follows, therefore, that our social system must be capable of some definite improvement by some happy modification which is bound to raise it from the antipathetic or, at best, indifferent stage, as it is at present, to a conception of sympathy, harmony, and true happiness.

The real difference between a right and absolute state of things, or perfect Individualism, on the one hand, and on the other a non-perfect Individualism, must lie in that under the non-perfect system it is a bad egotism which verges upon selfishness when Man, consciously or unconsciously, is led to derive his own happiness at the expense of others ; whereas under a perfect Individualism it is quite consistent for a man to derive much happiness, if he has the power to attain it, at the expense of nobody, if not, indeed, in a manner which,

directly or indirectly, practises the happiness of others independent of himself. If this can be done, and it must be possible, then the individuality of a nation is reflected, as it ought to be, through the personality of its monarch, and the latter, who must be recognised and maintained, being the natural development of a consistent Individualism, will be found to be the embodiment of the sense of unity in the harmonious preservation and growth of his people.

In this manner the King is no longer in need of the Aristocracy and the millionaires who at present uphold thrones, and in upholding them further their own interests and strengthen their position, which they constantly need to render more and more secure as, in an unbridled fashion, they monopolise the resources of the country, bind the hands of the nation, and thereby control the will of men, leaving them just enough latitude to live and learn.

It is clear, then, that the right position in human society is a state of rational life in every country where King and people are united and live harmoniously, and we rightly infer that the over-rich are the principal evil and obstacle to progress.

Now, let us, though only empirically for the present, consider what effect has a society upon the moral and material growths of its members, a society founded upon Individualism, constituted by King and people, unfettered by such ridiculous though dangerous intruders as the title-bearer or the millionaire.

As we shall see in the next chapter, it will be found necessarily legal and effective for every government to tax Capital in such a way that it will react in favour of the less rich. In this manner small capitalists are encouraged at the expense of the large capitalists, and the governments themselves will accordingly become very rich.

So not only does the social organisation of the country help the weaker members of society to stride along smoothly, but also the government, being richer, could and necessarily would stave off famine and starvation, so that no one will die for want of food, because in a community where Capital is wisely dispersed it will absorb most of the subordinate classes within the ranks of full or comparative independence, so that there shall be no longer a surplus of hands awaiting employment.

Of course, a man who under the prescribed system will be found starving because he would not and yet could get work will be fed and taken care of in prison.

At this juncture it is needless to speak of the raising of the moral and material standards of life which governments are eager to effect, but are as yet quite unable to do for want of means.

What impresses us most in this new social order is that we have a new conception of an organised system of Society where everything is helped and made to grow from the foundation upwards, and no longer forced to grow under pressure from the upper.

CHAPTER II

CAPITAL AND LABOUR

THE end of Labour is pay, which is another though but a modest name for Capital; while the necessity of the latter is its preservation and increase.

So the tenor of an individualistic capacity in social organisations must needs imply an acquired knowledge how best to effect both the possibility of Capital and its security.

In this manner our attention must be chiefly concentrated upon what can be done to render Capital unassailable, in accordance with the logic of a perfect justice and in the best and only possible way. If Labour can threaten Capital, and the latter in its turn can oppress Labour, yet the two being necessary to each other, to defeat their quarrel and reconcile them they must be contrasted in a light pointing to their relief from both threat and oppression. To do this we must think and conceive transcendently, or, in other words, treat sym-
pa-

thetically, and yet strictly on lines of justice, that which is of both and yet is neither.

In this manner we should arrive at some impersonal, impartial, and disinterested results. Justice, Individualism, and Capital are practically synonymous at this juncture. Nevertheless, if the word Capital is to mean what it must mean, and thus be treated as well as defended on its own grounds and merits, what a helping hand are we offering the personal element of capitalists!—who are here necessarily objectified; and in this, their capacity, is also implied the complete subordination of the labourer to Capital. Therefore, consciously or otherwise, we must be aiming at a positive conclusion showing that Labour must not even be considered for its own sake, and yet could not be ignored, for it must be set right whenever it wrongs or even hurts Capital. In other words, Labour must be treated and considered only in its relation to Capital.

This transcendentalism merely implies that, since what is of both Capital and Labour is still Capital, it follows that to defend Capital for its own sake and comprehend it in the most self-consistent manner must needs react most favour-

ably and effectively upon both Capital and Labour.

We have, in the first instance, the unions formed among whole classes of Labour evidently for the purpose of defending their own interests, yet not justly and in a manner to ensure themselves a reasonable and right pay, but the maximum of pay.

Now, these unions have very often proved threatening. Not only do they thereby impede the growth of the country and the prosperity of nations by causing much embarrassment and discomfort, but also they tend to defy the government. In their latter capacity especially unions are most intolerable.

Yet, in spite of all this, governmental laws must be based upon liberty and equality. What, then, can be done to put an end to the nuisance of unions? At this juncture we must consider how the temperaments of classes can be made moral or immoral, or tending to what is moral or to what is immoral, and, knowing that morality and good conscience are alone compatible with Truth, it would follow that to stay vexation among classes the morality of the threatening section or sections must be in need

of improvement and ought to be improved. So we find that the vital concern of the State in the endeavour to conciliate conflicting interests between classes must be to raise the moral standard of both poor and labourer.

But Morality here must not talk abstract and big words ; it must be considered strictly in its relation to both Capital and Labour, and to do this effectively must needs create for itself forces stronger and more concrete than either Capital or Labour, so that it may rule and direct both, each on its own terms and in its own language as well as in the two languages together, that it may speak to both, and that each, hearing truth, may be convinced and obey.

Still, if Morality is to mean what the word itself should imply it must not be bought, for this will be mere conjecturing, although under the circumstances it must pay and yet without costing anything. Let us now pave the way towards the discovery ; it is a winding road, and yet we shall not be desultory or wanting in definitions and precision.

No one wishes to discourage education, and a moralising influence could do no better than to encourage it. Now, is not the chief end of

education to make men grow more as thinking beings and less as purely animal beings?

In fact, already we live in a very intelligent age, and many noble impulses are fretting away not only in waste, but also for ill and danger to all concerned, thanks to our incapacity of finding the proper use for our fuller and completed faculties.

Now, seeing that Man's receptivity to use himself as a thinking being is complete, since he is already effectively so, though on wrong lines, it follows that we cannot go wrong in treating him as much as possible as a purely thinking and even self-thinking being, and as little as possible as an animal being and merely capable of thought.

As a subsequent truth we must, therefore, anticipate the vindication of the following new human law to precede necessary legislation, as below.

It is good and necessary to accept and always encourage more and more the moral sense of the labourer, which thus far, yet unconsciously but figuratively and even effectively, is crying out in him: "As he must author his acts, being conscious, he should by now be alive to the

said fact and thus *consciously* subordinate his actions to his will."

This law demands from every self-respecting and working man that he should be interested in the fruit and development of his labour, as an artist should be. No longer will men have to work as machines or as part of machines, and every firm must reckon that the hands employed at the factory or at the desk are minds above all things, and therefore cannot help being even morally, and thus fully, identified with the labour of their own hands and skill. In this manner they would become, and should be, as much the owners of the whole concern as their employer, to whom generally everything belongs.

This course implies the moral equalisation between employer and employee, so that it will be necessary that the former should assign also for himself a salary; this is all the more important because the profits must be shared among all, and proportionately.

Doubtless the precautionary measure of not allowing the subordinate individual partners in the firm more than they deserve and nothing more than what they are paid is an open issue quite easy of control by the owner, as by assign-

ing for himself a salary more, even much more, than the probable profits are likely to be, the balance of the firm will therefore invariably show a deficit for which it will be tacitly understood the subordinate partners are not responsible.

In order to raise the financial standard upon such basis of reorganisation nothing less is required than the direct interference of the State into all the monetary sources of business individuals, as well as of retired and private individuals and companies.

Since such law must be a general rule enforced by every State in defence of the workmen's rights, the subordinate partner can claim, and must get, a yearly balance-sheet of the firm he manages or helps only, through the government, who will acquire it for him direct from the Ledger and the particular owner.

This principle has a far-reaching importance, and leads to the proper solution of a matter even far greater than its immediate object.

We have the moneys which governments collect in the form of various taxes for purposes of policing and keeping standing useful organisations and good institutions.

Now, what reproach can a "Thought-Think-

ing-Man " find against the following proposition, a man rid of the imbecilities that are still rife in human affairs: " That the State must get the money if needed, and, therefore, must tax nothing but Capital " ?

What bad legislation and how unstatesman-like to tax the Income ! Income, in the majority of cases, is a doubtful quantity : Capital is certainly less so. Again, how tyrannical and absurd to tax the comparatively poor, who can get hardly enough to provide for themselves, and yet are taxed in order to provide for the State ; while the State, needing money, ought not to be so blind as to miss its right track in leaving Capital alone.

Such, doubtless, would create a tendency to weaken Capital in its attempts to grow to wild proportions ; still, the principle is sound, and must be founded purely in the interest of Capital, and until it is established Capital cannot be on a safe footing. Are we not accustomed to think that Capital is being threatened or that it is dangerous because in its unbridled growth it is often tyrannical, licentious, and bad ?

The big capitalist will complain, the small capitalist will find himself placed in a very

advantageous position, and the ordinary man will give a sigh of relief as he is freed, once for all, from the yoke that has oppressed him for ages and still weighs upon him in the name of Slavery under all its varied forms. The present state of Labour shows us the labourer materially limited and morally counting for nothing, as he cannot yet identify himself with the motives and reasons of his work, as a conscious man who is morally healthy should do. While little better than a machine, the modern workman is so degraded from his better self that he is made to identify himself only with the physical capacity of his work that immediately occupies him. Yet let us see where are the gaps to be found in a system which appears to offer advantages to some and disadvantages to others. Is it a system of favouritism? Nothing can be farther from our intention.

Let us inquire a little more closely into the spirit of our intentions and see what we really propose to do.

In the first place we ask the Capitalist to help us to defend his own interests in a manner that will not cost him even a halfpenny by allowing the mass of the population to live as intelligent

men, with the proper and most elementary dignity that is the due of every human being. The subordinate must not be treated as a mere slave, but as a factor, for this the subordinate really is, and therefore we can see no other way than to make him a partner.

The vicious capitalist will find this not to his liking, as it will not answer his sense of vanity and selfishness common to "parvenus" and petty tyrants.

The right-minded capitalist, on the other hand, will approve the new regime, not only because it is just and equitable, but also, if he is really intelligent, because he will find it even admirably ingenuous, for while it only demands from him an "imaginary" sacrifice in money, he will, in return, avoid many annoyances, dangers, and pitfalls which lie everywhere before him.

Our intelligent capitalist will also very clearly see that the new regime, although when considered strictly on its own account is faultless and even beneficent to him, still in practice is bound to effect such remarkable regeneration in thought and social habits that, as a necessary consequence, the phases of its voluptuously wealthy attainments will be irremediably lost.

As a consequence of what ? As a consequence of taxing Capital. The State, in order to effect the raising of the moral standard through the coming partnership between employer and employee, so that both will become co-workers and owners, and thus, morally, on a level of happy equality, will thereby find itself compelled to place its thumb on all the vicissitudes and sources of Capital. In this manner the State, finding real money so near itself and needing real money, is foolish to resist the temptation of taxing Capital rather than to tax the rent, which is money to be paid, or tax Income, which is only probable.

Of course, the rentier capitalist will also come under the same rule of control and taxation by the State, for once the State shall pause as the caretaker of the uncared-for it must needs control Capital, and will thus be subordinating the care of the uncared-for to its own benefit, which obviously will react mostly, if not wholly, for the relief and suppression of all kinds of miseries and wants among the poor.

In practice, indeed, it becomes obvious that if the State upholds and champions the hitherto unknown moral and material rights of the sub-

sidiary classes, it also claims their moral elevation and demands their entering into partnership with their employers in order to get at Capital and tax it.

In truth, such is the real intention. Since the material benefits of the workman as he becomes a partner in these results are frothy and purely imaginary, he will justly say, "There's nothing in it."

Nevertheless, if the State needs money, and the best and the justest way to obtain it is to get at Capital, and as it can do so legally and conveniently only through taking up the cause of the subordinates and becoming their spokesman, it follows that "unions" will become inconsistent with the peculiar legislation of the State under the coming regime. Thus the government will have power to prohibit "unions" of a kind, inasmuch as the present practice of "unions" of asking, on behalf of their constituents, higher wages or ceasing work will become pointless and impossible in the future, as all the claims and satisfaction of the workman must pass through those branches of the government instituted for the purpose.

This is the only course open to the employee,

as he is so pledged and in duty bound, being a partner only through the State.

Our new regime presupposes such regulations and rules that require to be formulated into laws for their thorough understanding and intelligent application.

Also let us, for the sake of brevity and clearness, have recourse in our calculations to the French monetary system.

1. A capitalist of 5000 Louis or less will incur no taxation.

2. A capitalist of 5000 Louis or more up to 10,000 is taxed 1% yearly over the 5000.

3. A capitalist of 10,000 or more up to 50,000 will be treated alike, but plus 3% over the 10,000.

4. A capitalist of 50,000 or more up to 100,000 will be treated alike, but plus 5% over the 50,000.

5. A capitalist of 100,000 or more up to a million will be treated alike, but plus 10% over the 100,000.

6. A capitalist of one million or more will be treated alike, but plus 25% over the million.

Further, as under the new regime what is called "private property," such as jewellery, as

well as gold and silver suites and objects of art, will not be taxed. Ordinary house furniture, books, clothes, etc., will also be exempt.

Further, the place of residence, should the residents be the proprietors—directly or indirectly under one head—will be reckoned as private property, and therefore its value will not swell the capital of its owner for taxation.

Nevertheless, the private property of a capitalist of between 50,000 Louis and a million must not exceed the tenth of his Capital. And an arch-millionaire's private property may not exceed 100,000 Louis. Any excess in all these cases will be reckoned as Capital and taxed accordingly.

Under the new regime an arch-millionaire, seeing that in paying 25% yearly he is quickly disposing of his surplus capital, would perhaps be induced to build a colossal home treasured with many valuable curiosities and works of art worth fortunes, and such law would prove a timely stop against the mad raving of an indignant capitalist.

Of course, landlords of every class and under all circumstances—except in the case above mentioned—must have their property properly

valued and treated as Capital subject to taxation. Moreover, charities and gifts will be counted absolutely illegal. Nevertheless, one may make a gift to his or her son or daughter, but only on the day of marriage or later, but not before. No gifts can be made to relatives or friends. Of course, a gift of small value, or of any value which can easily be met out of general expenses, will not be discoverable, and will not be criticised by the State.

This law, too, is mainly provisional to meet the case of a millionaire who presents to his wife or baby children a substantial share in his capital and business.

How much the State might be bluffed in the absence of such a provision !

Moreover, wills are discouraged. The better man is he who shall leave no will. Yet it will not be illegal if a man wishes to leave by will a quarter of his capital. One can make a will and say what he wishes to be done with the quarter of his capital, whether to be distributed among some special charitable institutions or given all or partly to any person or persons. No difference will be made between male and female in the distribution of heritage.

The remnants of feudal systems of the past must now be forgotten. The keen sensitiveness and clear consciousness of the age make it impossible to allow that the large portion of the wealth of a lord or duke should pass to the eldest heir.

Not only estates and all kinds of property will be valued during life to swell Capital for proper taxation, but at death everything will be shared equally, as in ordinary cases.

The members of a Royal House cannot refuse to be placed, even in this matter, outside the State control, and must therefore become subject to the same treatment for taxation as ordinary individuals. Even the King himself must be subject, although the rule will be applied with some reservation, such as that no valuation or limit should be assigned to his residences and treasures, which must pass entire to the heir at his death or dethronement.

The surest and only way to make human beings honest is to close the doors of dishonesty.

It is because I doubt that every Prince *must* be an immaculate that I see no way of escape but to bring him equally with others under the law of taxation.

Suppose a millionaire to sell to an unscrupulous prince large properties at a very, very low price, on condition that the latter will allow him so much money a year for a number of years. This can be done to the advantage of both, and to the detriment of the State should princes remain outside State control.

Anyhow, under the new regime there must only be King and people, and none of the sham princes in the persons of nobles outside the Royal House.

Money has attained a tremendous power. No one will deny that it goes a long way towards happiness and the settling of many human difficulties.

So it is incumbent upon the legislation of all governments to regulate material happiness in such a way that little or no pressure will be brought upon the weak and much pressure upon the strong, not to impair the latter or in any way to satisfy an evil, envious grudge against him, but that, in depriving him of the superfluous, we may provide, in a reactive form, the needy with the necessary. The reaction will have a good moral effect because it is calculated to make starts in life much less precarious.

Every persevering individual, if honest, will have a fair chance, ever smooth and ever strengthening. So far really honest men have had but a little chance, for they are easily outstripped by really shrewd men, who apply honesty because it pays, and in the long run grow honest themselves, and perhaps even strong advocates of it. It is the latter type of men which forms the right material for millionaires.

Human psychology is very complex, and its extremes are sometimes nearer and more liable to contract than its various gradations.

Who can deny that criminals and thieves have perverted instincts and are in some way half mad? Yet many criminals are beings of the tenderest sort when touched properly, and their nature truly kind; but they are weak-willed, and, being so, the burden that, owing to our wrong social system, falls upon poverty is more than they can bear, and as they cannot set themselves against the world they set themselves against themselves. To set oneself against oneself is at once the easiest and the most difficult. Poor souls! and for them the millionaire and the always unjustified title-bearer are alone responsible.

The shrewd man is not a man of will, who through his moral superiority rightly attains to better comfort. Not he.

The criminal man is born either with completely perverted instincts or with very simple and well-defined instincts, which are gradually perverted because he becomes soured and is not allowed to develop free and unopposed, thanks to the existing state of affairs.

While the shrewd man who gets on best is born with instincts only slightly perverted, his complexity proves a fair parallel with the lugubrious, chaotic, and very unjust state of things which underlie the principle of modern life and its hypocritical usages.

He is the opportunist *par excellence*, and can adapt himself to circumstances marvellously well; at first, however, quite subserviently and in a humble, if not, indeed, in a humiliating and degraded fashion waiting for his turn to come, and when it does come he strikes unfairly, if not even cruelly, and becomes the prig we are accustomed to see, or the moralist, or the rich sermon-maker. The man of great will is a man of real genius, a Cæsar or a Napoleon.

The man of strong will is mad and a complete

failure if he is not endowed with rare gifts of constructive imagination and intellect. He smiles at what are thought to be great difficulties because he sees, and has already solved, greater undreamt of by others. He has the right temperament and the determination and ability to strike terror into the hearts of others, many of whom he brings to the level of dust at his feet. He loves not mere money, but Power and Dominion, capable of being acquired, thanks to his commanding, highly generous impulses.

Anyhow, let us discourage the merely shrewd man and infuse earnest truth and sincere honesty among men. They lack both and need the same badly.

Yet, unless the money world is guided and ruled by impulses for fair play and noble feelings, something expressive of the selfless in Man and the normal in God, the Divine Man, Socialism will in time prevail. Still, for Socialism or anything else to be capable of enduring, it must not be inconsistent with the principles of human essence and Infinity.

Socialism needs UNCONSCIOUSNESS to take the place of SUPERCONSCIOUSNESS, which the latter truly is.

To the ordinary mind the last passage, which is very essential, is perhaps not quite clear, but to the philosopher and to thinkers of all shades its meaning is easily gauged and its seriousness perceived.

Moreover, nothing seems more vital to the enterprise and habits of men than to avoid poverty and acquire riches. Rich or poor alike are a fiction which, nevertheless, entirely influences and embraces human conduct, and counts for more, in practical affairs and in our daily lives, than all the elements and principles of more vital and real issues, such as : What is Life ? What about Consciousness ? and, What distinction or purpose has human life ?

Such fiction being not real in itself can have, properly speaking, neither a conscious nor a superconscious value, but is quite as effective and influential, as it rules all the consequences and bearings of our lives. It must, therefore, be characteristically subconscious and contain both issues and powers capable, at least, of modifying, if not, indeed, of altogether changing, our attitude in relation to greater issues, and to our knowledge of both Consciousness and Superconsciousness. It need require no very great

effort of the imagination and reason to clearly understand where lies the greatest of human affectation, and which is man's weakness.

The very fact that Man needs to be rational and yet is not rational presupposes that weakness.

Man is and must be becoming more and more rational, for reason is demanded of him as the basis of his mental state and the very essence of his constitution.

Man has always believed persons who do not agree with him or oppose him on some general lines of life and conduct to be irrational and fools. In this manner we detect in Man a genuine and irresistible effort to agree and sympathise with himself in everything. Such predilection presupposes another, though very different, attitude, and one more intrinsic in character.

Science, of course, tells us of the sense of self-preservation, but this does not take us very far, or, at least, not as far as we want to go.

To unfold till we exhaust the meaning of self-preservation we must build our edifice from the premisses of pure reason and a priori.

As we shall see, everything goes to prove our standpoint to be right and to teach us what

there is in that fiction of rich and poor, and what is the significance of that power which subconsciously underlies the fiction.

Man may not think that his own world—meaning his life and experience—is the best of all possible worlds, and may even envy another for a better state and higher position than himself; yet, although this may be in perfect agreement with his views and the mere outward expression of temperament, the same could not be in accordance with his own first and original forces which grow into his life.

Such forces must make him, on pure principle, live and truly live—though he may not so think—as if his world were the best of all possible worlds, and he would not exchange it, even at a moment of the worst anxiety, with the position of a young, happy, and healthy King.

There is a manifestly and true subconscious feeling of deep self-attachment in Man which makes him believe, though only subconsciously, and thus not necessarily also in abstract actual speculation and thought, that his is the best possible state and position. Without this self-attachment not only must the very life in our breath instantly cease, but it would be obvi-

ously strange and quite impossible to account for the atoms which compose and constitute our bodies to endure instead of decomposing and falling away so completely that we are instantly negated and rendered invisible.

It is precisely this self-attachment, this subconscious feeling in Man, which thinks without his knowing it, and renders quite possible the fact that the masses of the population who are poor can tolerate and accommodate themselves to the minority which are rich. Now, the question truly is: What does Subconsciousness think in Man without his knowing it? With the answer to this question we will obtain the key and solution to the greatest questions which engage men's thoughts most seriously and have done so in all times.

Subconsciousness is the essence of intelligence and thought, so it must be, in some sort, also capable of definition. Even the poor man, as we know, is perfectly satisfied and contented, although he may not know it, particularly if the poor man's Subconsciousness contents him with the thought, which he unconsciously also thinks, that poverty means struggle in life and constant work. Work is the healthiest possible

occupation, as it fitly prepares one to the harmonious, moral, and conscientious rest which naturally comes after useful and honest exertion ; while the rich man, hunting continually after pleasures, is likely to fall into moral and social atrocities.

The poor man imagines the rich as lax, lazy, and heavy, and thus hates the very thought of him. He fully appreciates the advantages of his own supple and easy movements and far greater adaptabilities, and, though at present subconsciously only, really prefers to remain poor and as he is, for he cannot help loving what he is.

So the laborious and useful men of the poor live and subconsciously think. This is neither right nor wrong, and the aristocrat does not in the least object to their philosophy.

The stately gentleman knows perfectly well that he enjoys far healthier exercise in yachting or shooting, and if he sometimes happens not to be hurrying it is because he carries no weight to be relieved of, nor is he a messenger who must be quick not to displease his master.

Yet if his agility and supple limbs are to be put to the test at all, let a dainty little girl

walk in front, and his steps become light and robust, quite in harmony with a soothing warmth fanning his cheeks and brightening his eyes, so that the best conscience, good religious morals, and earnest hard work can enshrine Man with no greater pleasures or true happiness.

Anyhow, the subconscious capacity in the mind of the rich man is identical with that of the poor and thinks in exactly the same way, only the rich man views ironically and recommends hypocritically what the poor applies and practises sincerely.

Do we not see, then, how defiant and hateful, though sincere and honest, on the one hand, and ironical, hypocritical, and deceitful on the other, is the basis of all human principles? If this be the subconscious side of humanity, of which all men must be unconscious, and upon which our thoughts and very consciousness, as well as our lives and daily practices are unconsciously based, then can we wonder that the ideas of both God and Immortality are denied in the concrete while they remain still real, and we partly accept them or simply tolerate them, but only in theory and in the abstract?

Indeed, how could it be otherwise? If God

and Immortality be true, they cannot be consistent growths upon a soil tangled with Error.

Hate, irony, and deceit are vices which breed Error ; but Error cannot exterminate Truth and Immortality, our individual Soul, or our beloved God. We struggle earnestly in our aspirations and in the love and sighs of our very breathing when, for no reason of our own, we feel dissatisfied with the world and live outside it in earnest meditation and sincere love for Truth.

Let us reform our lives.

Should the poor be allowed to live and grow in the right manner, they will learn to see in the rich a personification, a model, and an ideal of part of their own aspirations, and will thereby love them ; the rich, too, must be made to grow in such a manner as to find it coming as an integral part of their individuality and a demand upon their welfare to sympathise with the poor and to serve as the ladder for their appreciation and progressive growth.

Until the rich are beloved by the poor and find it good to sympathise with and help them, Hope, Immortality, as well as God, will remain pure abstractions and chimeras.

But if Dignity and Integrity take the place

of Hate, Deceit, and Irony, the contrary will follow. Then, even if "The Good Things" were in themselves truly chimeras and pure illusions, nevertheless humanity will find it impracticable and unnatural, though not necessarily impossible, to accept them as such, but will, instead, accept them as absolute truths and realities.

Affectation is human, and therefore necessary. It cannot be successfully defied unless the fallible sense in Man is overcome—at least, from the point of view of Principle. All men's thoughts and habits of life are grounded in some unconsciously self-accepted facts that they do not question simply because, so far, they cannot do so.

In this manner it is only in the future that we can reasonably hope to have men who can speak without affectation and give us information and knowledge on the premisses of pure reason. Even Kant could not, positively and absolutely, have said anything of pure reason, simply because he lived before his day.

Now that we have laid bare the subconscious side and all-embracing Principle of Humanity so that the "unconsciously self-accepted facts" of themselves resolve into their true intrinsic

value, no excuse is left for any one to be affected (or prejudiced), apologetic, or postulating and acting upon undefended presuppositions.

The ethical principles of Society and the governmental laws of all States must conform to our aims and prepare for all the steps leading to the necessity of the poor's emancipation and their coming into partnership with their superiors. It is necessary to decompose the unwise, inhuman, and cold summits of Mammon, and in their decomposition into falling particles of ice, that soon melt, the dark, dried bones of a dying Society may yet breathe and live again through this new water, strengthening its skeleton, rising in power and vitality in its own warmth and in the warming atmosphere. What was once ice and is now water may crystallise in pure, fresh, and vigorous air, and import intenser brightness into the same Sun.

Oh, struggling humanity! Is it a credulous fancy of mine which tells me that, though on the wings of Horror still, Thou art flying to Glory, on the ladder of Despair Thou climbest the Mount of Honour?

Nay, indeed; no sincere heart needs ever despair of men. Brave humanity has suffered

much, but the breast of Man is deep and heroic, wherein sighs can travel far. Then, might it be that the cries of the past will resolve into a tear of happiness that will, in future ages, occasionally fall by the side of a humanity sobered in peaceful industry, pensive and gentle ?

Let us now conclude with a poem on "The Past," which I wrote some three or four years ago.

THE PAST.

The silent Moon is sleeping,
And sleeps in music from my sigh.
The rolling ages are falling,
Years and Death draw more close and nigh.
The Past is not the true dawn of Humanity,
But the foreshadow of its Morning.
It's true that men lived and died,
But murder could move in their breath.
To-morrow, perchance, the Morning rises,
For yet we live the horrible Past.
The Morning is not the usual break of night,
But the Awakening ! The Awakening !!
That which splendours in sleepless Truth,
And the same which nurses in our breasts.
Not for Death, but Salvation and Freedom,
Man ! Unfold Thyself and call out for Thy God ;
Then shalt thou find God to be Thine Own Breath.
There and then springeth the awakening Blossom,
And all hands will join for Hope and Peace,
Hearts to know one another's wish.
Minds to crave for Purity and Understanding.
All men to live the deliberate Truth.

September 18th, 1908.

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